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18 September 1961

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CENTRAL

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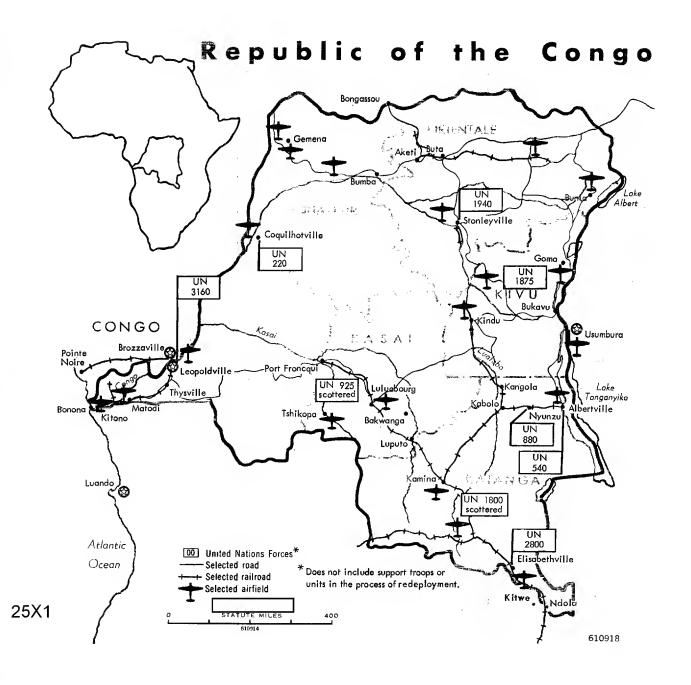
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Situation in the Congo

During Hammarskjold's stay in Leopoldville, he told Ambassador Gullion that he believed the Adoula government would be the "greatest winner" from the UN Katanga operation. He asserted that Adoula had been under great pressure from the Gizenga faction to bring Tshombé to heel. The secretary general said he believed that if this could be accomplished, Adoula, whom he characterized as the most purposeful, energetic, and capable African he knew with the possible exception of Nigerian Premier Balewa, would be master of the situation. Otherwise, according to one of Hammarskjold's aides, there was a danger that General Lundula in Stanleyville would take action against Katanga on his own account.

The UN officials expressed concern over the appointment of Egide Bocheley-Davidson as the chief Leopoldville representative in Katanga. However, they said he was presently under the control of the UN and they hoped he would remain so. Bocheley-Davidson has thus far been confined to Elisabethville airport by the fighting in Katanga.

A more accurate evaluation of the situation may be that provided by Arthur Doucy, a Belgian socialist called by the American Embassy in Brussels "one of the most knowledge-able Westerners" on Congo affairs. Doucy, who is a friend and adviser of Congolese Foreign Minister Bomboko and has known Adoula for ten years, told American officials that he fears the UN is unwittingly abetting a Gizenga takeover. He asserted that anti-Communist elements in the government, such as Bomboko and Sureté chief Nendaka, were being isolated through the appointment of Gizengist assistants, and that the dispatch of Bocheley-Davidson to Elisabethville was part of a Gizengist plan to take over Katanga after the UN had neutralized Tshombé and his associates.

According to Doucy's informants, the radical neutralists at the Belgrade conference worked to impress Adoula with the necessity of retaining Gizenga's support; as a result, Doucy feels that Adoula, who he says is not a particularly strong personality, would prefer to make concessions to Gizenga rather than put up a determined fight against Gizenga's efforts to gain control. Doucy stated that he fears the Gizenga bloc may take over from Adoula within three or four months.

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Opposition to New Government Party Increasing
In El Salvador

The National Conciliation party (PCN) was formally organized on 2 September with the support of the Directorate. The chief purposes of the new organization are to facilitate a smooth transition from the present interim regime to a permanent constitutional government and to ensure the continuation of the sorely needed socio-economic reform program launched by the Directorate. This presumably would be accomplished through the election of a majority of government-backed PCN candidates to the constituent assembly, which is to be chosen by direct popular vote in November. The assembly is to name a provisional president to fill out the ten remaining months in ousted President Lemus' term. A new chief executive is then to be elected to serve a regular six-year term.

The growing opposition to the Directorate and the PCN reflects the chagrin of the previously existing political parties that government endorsement was not granted to any one of them and their concern over the inroads in their membership already made by the new party. It also is an expression of the fears of many Salvadorans that the creation of a government party presages a return to the evils of one-party rule associated with the ousted Lemus administration and earlier regimes.

Dissension among the top civilian and military members of the government over the Directorate's plans for the PCN has weakened the government's position at the same time that widely based public opposition to the move has been mounting. Col. Francisco Sol, the minister of the interior under the Directorate, announced his resignation on 12 September ostensibly because of the pressure of "personal affairs," but a close relative informed the US Embassy that the real reasons for his action were his disagreement with the Directorate's electoral plans and his desire to dissociate himself from the political manipulations he believes are inevitable if the PCN is to win the coming elections. There are indications that Sol may agree to head a coalition of older political parties against the government party. Confirmation of reports that Minister of Defense Rodriguez Simo or other key officials are planning to resign shortly could seriously affect the stability of the regime and lead to open dissension within the ranks of the military.

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West Indies Federation

Williams has evidently had second thoughts since last June, when under Jamaica's threats of secession he agreed to Jamaica's demands for severely restricted federal powers. He now is bitterly critical of Jamaica's Premier Manley and British Colonial Secretary Macleod for imposing on Trinidad and the smaller islands a central government too weak to help them. The federation is scheduled to become independent on 31 March 1962.

Williams has also attacked the United States, as he was prone to do before a year-long period of good feeling during which the US - West Indies defense areas agreement was signed last February. The premier dislikes the United States' emphasis on the federal role in determining aid to Trinidad and especially resents not having full personal say on federal arrangements for facilities at the large US base at Chaguaramas, Trinidad. Williams has long been bitter over the obstacle to visiting the United States posed by an outstanding arrest warrant initiated by a former wife for unpaid alimony.

Even though the political opposition does not appear seriously to threaten his control in Trinidad, in this pre-election period Williams is especially sensitive to his rivals' charges that the US base agreement fails to take sufficient account of Trinidad's interests. The British Colonial Office thinks Williams' truculence may subside after the elections expected in late October but doubts that he will call the legislature to grant final approval of the federation before January, when a conference will be held in London on Britain's future economic aid to the new nation.)

If secessionist sentiment defeats the Jamaican referendum despite Premier Manley's vigorous campaigning, or if Trinidad leaves the federation, Williams probably expects that Trinidad could lead a smaller but more cohesive federation to early independence, with Jamaica attaining independence separately. This would require renegotiation of the US base agreement, and, since the principal facility is on Trinidad, Williams would again be the dominant local figure to deal with.

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